

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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THREEPENCE

What's this war for?

## POWER POLITICS NOT DEMOCRACY

We cannot make peace &amp; war at the same time

Whatever the motives of some who support it, Western intervention in Korea is only a phase in the global power conflict. In effect it is only an attempt to set up an American empire and represents a policy of Western aggression in the Orient.

This is the basis of a statement issued from New York by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which Peace News heartily endorses. Extracts from it are as follows:

THE Korean war is a phase of the global power conflict between Russia and the United States. Unless the course now followed by these and other nations is promptly and sharply reversed, it is the beginning of World War III.

Those who think there is some moral justification for such a war may well reflect that it is completely irrational. It means "pint" for the nations engaged in it.

So far from being a means of stopping or limiting the sway of totalitarianism, it can only result in imposing totalitarianism on all mankind—or in chaos, if indeed mankind survives at all.

The result of the Truman doctrine of containing Communism by force, no matter how good may be the motives of those who support it, means in effect the attempt to set up an American Empire. It represents a policy of Western aggression in the Orient.

### WAR ONLY INCREASES COMMUNISM

Unashamedly, therefore, we are against the Korean war and the participation of the USA in the global conflict, whether cold or hot, concealed or open, against Russia.

This involves no support whatever of Russia or Communism. We oppose Russian military measures as unequivocally as we oppose American military measures. Atom bombs in the hands of the Kremlin are no more instruments of peace than atom bombs in the hands of the Pentagon.

We oppose the Korean war because we do not want to be implicated in the material and spiritual destruction of our own country and of mankind.

We want to oppose Communism, but not by means such as war, which actually promotes its growth.

Only by a radically different type of policy can there be any hope of averting a world war and establishing peace. We have to decide whether we want a war policy or a peace policy.

### OUR CHOICE: FOOD OR H-BOMBS?

In the attempt to make peace and prepare for global war at the same time, we have failed in adequate measure to render constructive services to the impoverished masses of the world for which our wealth and skills fitted us, and which might have made friends for us among the peoples rather than among the puppet regimes.

We have to choose. It is impossible to make war and peace at the same time. We can go to the rest of the world a free and fearless America, with hands filled with friendship and food for the needy, including our enemies; we can go a fearful, militarised nation with its hands full of H-bombs.

To proclaim this policy of an all-out choice may be regarded as drastic and utopian.

## A-BOMBS AND HOW TO TAME THEM or legislators in a hopeful mood

WHETHER the Civil Defence debate was designed to reassure the public or to frighten them into demanding negotiations, it remains for ever obscure, writes our Parliamentary Correspondent.

In either case, only one conclusion can be drawn from it: That once atom bombs start falling, nothing much can be done about it, with all known means of defence, the average citizen has considerably less chance of escape than he had in the heaviest days of the last war.

The Home Secretary's summing-up was a masterly effort, in that he successfully raised every important question that could possibly be asked about atomic defence.

The most positive statement he made was the first answer to any form of attack

It is drastic. But it is not as utopian as the idea that war is the way to peace, or that a nation can make war and peace at the same time.

### APPEAL TO THE CHURCHES

Today the United Nations has been transformed from a peace agency to a war agency. The only way it can help to bring peace is to stay out of the battle and call persistently for peaceful mediation.

Upon the churches the crisis imposes a vast responsibility. The Church cannot be the channel of the pure and peaceable spirit of its Lord if it continues to compromise with war.

We plead with the World Council of Churches, the various denominations and local churches everywhere to summon all belligerents to an armistice and to urge mediation between East and West.

### STEP OUT OF THE RANKS!

Men and women will be capable of the tremendous moral effort that is now required to stop the drive towards war only if they experience a great psychological re-orientation, a spiritual rebirth. If the Church of Christ is not the channel for a new Pentecost, whither shall men turn?

Pacifists who proclaim the message of No More War also call upon individuals to make the unequivocal break with war.

Our political and military leaders will not abandon war-making and adopt an alternative policy unless the people make it clear that they simply will not support or take part in another war—that it is peace they want, not war in the name of "peace."

There are multitudes who wish for peace, but who have not given clear notice that they will not fight again or make weapons of war, or accept war profits.

If there are no longer persons who are willing to act alone if need be, then democracy is dead.

On the other hand, each person who has the faith and moral courage to step out of the ranks of the armies marching to destruction, will impart to others the courage to stand alone, until men are again building communities in peace and freedom rather than marching to death.

### OUR NEED: A PEACE ARMY

The statement concludes with an appeal to pacifists for renewed efforts and greater unity.

Without that, it says, they will abandon the field to the war-propaganda of the American administration on the one hand, and the so-called peace propaganda of the Communists on the other.

If democratic discussion is to continue, and the word "peace" is to retain its honoured place in the vocabulary, an intense effort must be made to bring the pacifist message to the attention of all peoples.

It therefore suggests that all pacifist organisations set up a "pacifist enrollment" in which pacifists should enroll for service.

## Communism cannot be stopped by militarism

PACIFIST M.P.'s ON THE "GREAT DELUSION"

"When will men learn that wars do not serve the fine moral purposes they set themselves in wars?"

—James Hudson, MP.

THOUGH ignored by the Press, the pacifist viewpoint was strongly expressed in the Commons debate on Defence last week.

James Hudson, Quaker pacifist MP for Ealing West, began by deploring the fact that the Labour Party should be now committed to a militarist policy so contrary to all its traditions.

"After what we have told ourselves of the destructive forces now leashed in the world," he said, "again to risk war in this situation surely calls for the very strongest protests from benches accommodating the party of Keir Hardie and George Lansbury."

### On Christian grounds?

He had heard one Labour member say he could go to the country and appeal for support of the war on Christian grounds. He, Mr. Hudson, had heard in that House what Dr. Salter had said on that very subject of Christian grounds:

"A new and righteous society," Salter had said, "will never be achieved by evil means."

If they were to talk about Christian grounds, Mr. Hudson added, they might at least remember that the Founder had said that those who take the sword shall perish by the sword.

The last war was an example of the use of violence. Though Hitler was dead, we

knew we had failed to end the horrors against which we struggled.

At this moment we were actually talking of unleashing in Germany again the very militarism against which we fought.

When would men learn that wars do not secure the fine moral purposes which they set before themselves in wars?

### "Blessed are the peacemakers"

It would be a good thing if, before taking final decisions, those who think in terms of Christian philosophy would tell the Russians, as we were telling ourselves, that no good purpose can be secured down the road they are travelling.

He would say to the Communists in this country, who are demonstrating for peace, that they should tell the Russians to draw back the North Koreans from the crime they are committing.

But he would say the same to the Americans. He would tell Truman that Communism was an idea—a bad idea—and could only be fought by better ideas.

If we could sacrifice our own welfare to help the people in Asia, we could do far more to check the growth of Communism than by resorting to arms.

He asked the House to think again before making decisions and to remember the voice of Him who said, "Blessed are the peacemakers"—and he was prepared to believe that House was filled with peacemakers—"blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God."

### Communism, the child of war

Rhys Davies also expressed astonishment that people could still believe wars could settle anything after thousands of years of wars that never did.

Nobody opposed Communist tyranny more than he did, but one thing was certain—war couldn't prevent Communism spreading.

"As a matter of fact," he said, "Communism is the child of war."

And if the nation spent much more of its substance on wars and drove the people down to poverty, they must not be surprised to see Communism spreading in this country too.

The Minister of Defence had said we couldn't afford to lag behind in bacteriological and chemical warfare preparations. It was a tragic state of affairs when a British Specialist statesman could say a thing like that.

If the speeches about war they heard nowadays from Labour benches had been uttered on platforms 50 years ago there would have been no Labour Party.

The Labour Peace group inside the party was small, but represented a considerable section of the country. And if he summed

(Continued on back page)

### NO MORE HIROSHIMAS

### PEACE DAY

Trafalgar Square, Sunday, 6th Aug.,  
3 p.m.

Chairman:

STUART MORRIS

Speakers:

VERA BRITAIN

E. H. S. BURHOP, Ph.D.  
(Atomic Scientists Association)JAMES HUDSON, MP  
(engagements permitting)

SYBIL MORRISON

DORA RUSSELL

DONALD SOPER

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VISIBILITY BAD: OR THE DIFFICULTY OF RECOGNITION

(Continued on back page)



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## FACTOPHOBIA

**T**HERE are certain current ideas so strange, so phenomenal, that they keep springing to the lips of every pacifist who makes speeches. One is the belief that wars can settle anything, and in particular, that they can destroy anything evil.

The more one hears this belief, the more incredible it seems that anyone can believe it.

We are aware that not everyone who indulges in war believes it. People of the Hitler or Mussolini type don't. The tyrants, in using war as a means to their ends, do not care what other results their wars may have so long as those results include their continuance of power.

They have no delusions about peaceful results, for they are quite prepared to go on using violence ad infinitum—in which respect they are more realistic than our statesmen.



The delusion resides only in those much nicer people (further West) who really do want peace.

The delusion had some excuse in the past. We older ones were brought up in an atmosphere of military romance. From the way history was taught, we thought little of the actual results of wars; the only important thing was to win them. From the cease-fire, our interest in them dissolved.

Our education was based on such books as "The Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World," but few among us remembered what any of the fifteen actually decided; that was a detail. It was, as we say, the winning that mattered.

Hastings 1066 seemed decisive enough, but few even today observe how completely the English have rid themselves of the Normans. Even the quaint language of BBC announcers sounds more like Saxon than French.

The victorious glory of Crecy and Agincourt still obscure the trifling fact that the war which included them was finally won by the French, leaving us with nothing more tangible than the word "Calais" inscribed on the heart of Mary B. Tudor.

As for that decisive French Revolution—it isn't over yet.

Today, however, there is no excuse for the delusion. Cause and effect are too near together. It is but five years since we rid the world of the Totalitarian Terror, only to find it back again already livelier than ever, nourished to greater strength by the war that killed it.



What is this strange compulsion which forces men to ignore obvious facts? Can it be true that men love war so much that they would rather die by it than live without it?

The main facts about the present conflict are easily accessible, yet how few people make any attempt to obtain them. There is, indeed, a curious resistance to facts.

When the Daily Herald repeated for the second time that Russia was "solely" responsible for the breakdown of the atomic energy control negotiations, we were, we admit, a trifle shocked.

We could not see how its entire staff could have remained in complete ignorance of such momentous discussions, or how its Foreign Editor, whose business it is to follow such proceedings, could fail to acquaint its leader writer with such elementary facts.

We were compelled sadly to wish that the paper founded by George Lansbury had at least retained some respect for truth, if not for pacifism.

But when, during last weekend, an Archbishop publicly made the same blatantly incorrect assertion, we were obliged to seek another explanation.

For an Archbishop, though he loves not pacifism, does love truth. The contrary is unthinkable.

Then how can he have missed such obvious yet vital information? Is he so constantly preoccupied with oecumenical business that he hasn't time to read The Times?

Doesn't he want to know the facts?

We must have notice of that question. At this time of night the answer evades us.

**T**HE Russians have again outmanoeuvred the West. Their telephone call on July 27 to Mr. Trygve Lie, informing him that Mr. Malik would assume the presidency of the Security Council when the Soviets' normal turn to preside came round on Aug. 1, was a diplomatic bomb packed with a mixed load of shrewd hits on the Western position, all wrapped up in one short, polite and unassailably legitimate message.

That message exploded the charge that Russia meant to disregard the United Nations; it undermined Nationalist China's prospect of survival in the Security Council; it has strengthened Mao Tse-tung's chances of early United Nations membership; it has exposed the Western powers to the danger of their disagreement about recognition of the Communist regime in China being brought to the fore; it has made reasonably certain that discussion of Korea by the Security Council, in one form or another, will come long before any Communist withdrawal to the 38th Parallel; and to end with, it has created a situation, to put it mildly, in which there is at least a possibility of considerable disagreement between the West and India.

### Mistake—by whom?

**I**T is probable that most of these things were in the Times leader writer's mind when he attempted to argue them out of existence, on July 29. But his efforts were not very convincing. He mentioned only one error in policy, and that, almost needless to say, was on the Russian side: "It (Mr. Malik's return to the Security Council) may be tacit recognition that the Russian absence from the Security Council when the decision to act in Korea was taken was, after all, a mistake." For the rest, the article only shows the West digging its feet in more firmly in the position already taken.

### Questions the West must face

**I**F the Soviet walk-out from the Security Council was indeed a mistake and not, as some people may think, a skilful manoeuvre of evasive action, it has been rectified in a way wholly to the perpetrators' advantage.

Of that, the Times leader says nothing; nor does it come to grips with three far more important points in the new situation: (a) that the coming Security Council meetings are not all likely to result in bland acceptance of the line of action followed so far; (b) that the American declaration of intent to defend Formosa against Mao Tse-

tung is of highly doubtful legality; (c) that the whole assumption that Northern and Southern Korea are two separate countries between which an act of aggression calling for immediate United Nations intervention has been committed, is now likely to be assailed.

And if the Western powers prove too unaccommodating on that subject, they will be driving India into opposition to themselves.

### The West's great opportunity missed

**T**HE whole handling of the problem shows the same lack of imagination that allowed the Communists to get away with the World Peace campaign.

The latest in that, as this is written, is that both the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of York have declared that, in their opinion, "the clergy should refuse to promote that appeal and should advise their people not to sign it." This happens in a world which has complained for years that the Soviet Government does not allow its people to learn anything of the western world's way of life and desire for peace.

Here then, surely, was the chance to catch the Kremlin on the wrong foot. The Peace Petition had been publicised all over Russia. The fact that it was to be canvassed around the West was known to the whole Soviet population. If the Western Governments had taken it up with enthusiasm, and had done all they could to encourage their people to sign it, many hundreds of millions of signatures from the West would have had the effect of making the Russians' 68 millions look less impressive.

And how, after all the Communist drum-beating for the campaign, could the Kremlin have hidden from its people that, say, 500 or 600 million men and women in the West had testified to their desire for peace?

### We might have made peace . . .

**M**OREOVER, behind this stands a wider question. People with respect for logic have always recognised that evil methods cannot produce good results. But it is a bad innovation to hold that something intrinsically good becomes bad as soon as it is advocated by a suspect.

Even if we accept the unproven assertion that the Kremlin instigators of the peace appeals had nothing in mind except a clever move in the cold war, it was a major blunder to associate ourselves with a condemnation of propaganda for peace. It was a blunder and, at the same time, a sign of weakness.

Instead of stigmatising our signatories of the appeals as co-travellers of Communism, we ought to have been big enough and

forceful enough to turn the Soviet signatories of it into co-travellers with a gigantic effort for peace.

### Why should Russia mean war?

**D**ESPITE the figures just published of Russian military strength, which do not seem to me so very exaggerated in view of the size of the anti-Soviet alignment, it is difficult to believe that the Kremlin is preparing for an aggressive military war. Why should it, when the ideological war is doing so well for Communism?

Rawle Knox, writing in The Observer, begins an important article by saying, "The West is taking India too much for granted. Malaya and Indonesia are not precisely strongholds of the free enterprise system. South Africa is becoming recognised as a danger spot; the Near-East will not let itself be perpetuate western ideas; France and Italy have considerable Communist parties; there is no evidence that Czechoslovakia and Eastern Germany are straining to get free of Communism; and, at home here in England, we have just had the report that the Portsmouth explosion on July 14 was due to deliberate sabotage in conditions of ominous significance."

As the Prime Minister told the House of Commons, it was carried out by some one with sound technical knowledge of explosives and, probably, with the aid of materials not normally obtainable by dock workers or naval ratings. Also, it was done in spite of the "very careful screening" which has apparently been in force in Admiralty establishments for a number of weeks past.

If the Communists can penetrate so far into the British Navy's duty operations, this incident has revealed them to have done, it seems pretty certain that neither the Korean nor the Western European fronts are the main lines of defence against the danger of Communism. That is what makes the addition of another 100 million pounds to the military expenditure of the country so doubly futile.

### How heads get lost

**I**F Louis XVI had not been so foolish as to endeavour to arrest the processes of the French revolution by seeking military assistance from foreign countries, he would not have left his head under the guillotine.

If the Western countries were not so foolish as to trust military might to fight the present world revolution, they would not be so likely to bring the beastliness of totalitarianism down on their own heads by direct after-effect of the third world war.

## THE CALL TO REPENTANCE

### HIROSHIMA DAY—AUGUST 4

By Rev. H. J. Dale

A nation can rise to no higher height of achievement than when it is prepared to act upon the authority of divine righteousness, for such opportunities every statesman and government ought to be constantly on the watch.

The idea of repentance is as unpopular today as ever. Indeed, man's pride refuses to acknowledge any need for the display of humiliation and penitence. Nothing is easier than to throw a veil over men's own misdeeds, and put the blame elsewhere.

How true this is in regard to international differences. At one time it was fascism that was represented as the primary cause of the world's distemper; then it was Nazism; now Communism is the mainspring of what is evil. But these political systems are symptoms indicative of the presence of something much more serious. The real trouble lies much deeper.

Were they not so obviously insincere, the frequent claims that are made on behalf of the "peace-loving nations" would be humorous.



The truth is there are no peace-loving nations. Those who disingenuously apply this description to themselves are peace-loving just so long as they can get their own way. When that is denied, as has happened in the Far East, peace-loving means nothing. If such a desire really existed, much more real effort than is at present in evidence would be displayed.

So far as this country is concerned, its record is not particularly impressive as that of a "peace-loving" nation. During the years of its rise to world power it became involved in more wars than any other people. Regarding the reasons for these military adventures, perhaps the least said is the best.

The chief need at the present time throughout the world is a change of heart. Without such a transformation, there is small chance of disaster being averted. By change of heart is meant change of mind, change of approach, change of attitude respecting those fundamental issues which are so intimately tied up with the peace and well-being of mankind.

At the moment all the powers are manoeuvring for position; waiting for what is thought to be the most favourable moment to strike.

The sin which is threatening to destroy mankind is not the sin of one nation alone. All the same, responsibility must begin at home.

For many a long day self-righteousness has been one of our outstanding blotches. How can history be expunged by a stroke of the pen? Facts speak for themselves. The birds of ill-omen let loose in days gone by have a habit of coming home to roost. That is what has been happening for some time. It is impossible to dissociate Russia's present conduct from the policies this country has employed on many occasions. Cause and effect cannot be separated.

Only in the spirit of repentance is hope to be found. In no other way can a new order of human relationships emerge.

God is not an auxiliary force whose help is to be invoked solely to back up self-interested national policies. Nothing short of obedient surrender to the demands of divine righteousness will avail. There lies the hope of deliverance.

### PRETTY THINGS

**W**E have in this office a large number of collecting boxes. They are very attractive things—practically objets d'art, if you ask me.

They are a delicate shade of green, which goes with almost any domestic decor, and bear a cartoon and a message from Vera Britain, thus combining art with literature.

Yet tastes vary. Collecting boxes aren't everybody's idea of an ornament. For those who wish to keep their good deeds darker, we also have a large pile of neat little collecting cards.

But these pretty things are useful, too. You've often been told that "if you take care of the pence the pounds will take care of themselves."

But I know a better one than that: "Take care of your pence and the resulting pounds will take care of Peace News."

### THE EDITOR

Contributions since July 7, £127 19s. 10d.  
Total to date this year, £382 10s. 11d.  
Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Vera Britain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.



# MORE FACTS ABOUT KOREA

"It is time our own statesmen faced realities"

Public support of the British and American militarist policy is made possible largely by general ignorance of the fact. We therefore welcome this article by a contributor who has made a special study of the Far Eastern situation.

THE British public have every reason to be dissatisfied with their Press for not keeping them informed of the trends of British and American policy in the Far East, with the result that, when the present crisis came upon them, they were not only astounded but ignorant of how to proceed.

Even members of Parliament do not seem to have been much wiser than the general public. Yet a perusal of the American Press since the beginning of this year would have thrown a great deal of light on matters which appear obscure.

## America's change of policy

Early in January, after it had become apparent that Chiang Kai Shek and his party were no longer worthy of support, Mr. Truman proposed an economic aid plan for Asia, which excluded the Chinese entirely.

At the same time, he stated on January 6 that the USA had "no desire to establish military bases on Formosa at the present time."

As a well-known New York Times columnist said, January 7—"What we are going to do is try to develop resistance outside China. News that plans are under way to provide economic aid, in some cases, military help to Indo-China, Indonesia, Korea, Japan and the Philippines, comes immediately after the announcement of non-intervention in Formosa and proves that we have an alternative policy."

## Reactionaries want help for Formosa

This solution did not, however, satisfy the Republican Party, and when, about the end of January, the Far Eastern Economic Bill came before the House of Representatives, it failed to pass by 192 votes to 191.

Three weeks later a revised Bill authorising "short-term aid for the beleaguered Chinese Nationalists in Formosa and for the Republic of Korea," passed by 240 votes to 134.

Incidentally, "beleaguered" is a strong word, as no attempt was being made at the time by the Chinese Communists on the mainland to take the island of Formosa, while the Chiang Kai Shek faction were still doing some quite effective bombing.

The Korean Aid Bill of February, 1950, provided for 66 million dollars additional aid for the Republic of Southern Korea, for the period to June 30, 1950, with the express understanding that there was no commitment to continue aid, further requests for assistance to be considered on their merits. Aid was to be withdrawn if any Communists were admitted to the government of the Republic.

The terminal date for the aid, June 30, may be significant in the light of the further fact that hostilities between North and South broke out on June 25.

Another significant event, in February, was the treaty of mutual assistance between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, under which either undertook to go to the other's aid in the event of attack.

## Chinese revolution "Non-Communist"

While the Korean aid bill was under discussion, the New York Times' correspondent, Walter Sullivan, sent several dispatches about the state of things in South Korea and the attitude of the USA to the liabilities it had undertaken there.

From these dispatches, as from official statements, emerges the typically sorry picture of a country arbitrarily divided into two through the contending rivalries of the East-West power blocs.

This was bound to intensify a conflict already indigenous in Korea, whose people had been struggling for a generation to throw off Japanese domination.

"A basic revolutionary force," said Dean Acheson on January 12, "is loose throughout Asia . . . against antiquated social and political traditions manifested in government corruption and inefficiency; in the wealth of a few and poverty among the peasant masses; and in the despotic attitude characteristic of Oriental police and soldiery."

The Chinese Communists, he also said, had ridden to victory on a wave of revolution that was primarily non-Communist.

## Vigorous resistance of reform

Apparently, therefore, in conformity with Mr. Acheson's view, USA policy in South Korea had been to attempt to set up a "middle road" democratic government, whose task was to be a bulwark against Communism.

This was far from easy, with a population divided in the main into those who had collaborated with the Japanese in the world war, and those who had drawn ever nearer to Communism through their part in resistance.

Hence many of the leaders in the Syngman Rhee government were drawn from exiles free of any ties with Japanese or Communists. They, however, had been so long out of the country that they had lost touch and even spoke Korean with a foreign accent.

Inevitably, the need to resist reform and Communist pressure drove the government towards greater repression and centralisation, as well as reliance on an army and police force, the bulk of whom had served in this capacity under the Japanese.

In 1948, according to Sullivan, more than half the officers above the rank of Lieutenant were men who had served in the Japanese police.

## "Torture not to be criticised"

In spite of public protest by Syngman Rhee, torture was an accepted practice—the Home Minister warning, in December, 1949, that "the torturing of Communists by the police is not to be criticised."

In August, 1948, the Korean jails held some 14,000 prisoners; by January, 1950, this number had risen to 40,000.

With commendable courage, the members of the National Assembly began to bring their grievances against the police into the open; greater repression resulted.

A practice is described which was known as the "human flesh distribution case." Opponents of the government and police were murdered and left on the doorsteps of friends as a means of intimidation.

The judiciary became restive. In 1949 the judicial branch of the government was twice purged of "leftist agents." In July, 1949, nine lawyers and prosecutors were arrested; in November and December a further six of seven judges and prosecutors were rounded up; whereupon 40 judges out of a total of 218 resigned because of "low salaries." These figures are taken from Sullivan's New York Times dispatch of February 2, 1950.

## Result of aiding reaction

It is argued that brutal repression by the South Korean Government is not a reason for making war upon it.

But it may also be argued that continued support of such a government by economic and military aid could, in the existing state of affairs in Korea, have only one result, that which is now, in fact, upon us.

In February last this aid was renewed to South Korea, largely because many US advisers on the spot had predicted that the trend to the right would otherwise be accelerated and the regime go down in bloodshed. A breathing space was bought by that Aid Bill of February until June 30.

## USA made negotiation impossible

It has been apparent to all familiar with the Far East situation that no solution can be found as regards Korea—and Formosa, which is traditionally Chinese territory—without negotiation between the Chinese Communist Government which has united China, the Soviet Union, which is dominant in North Korea, and the British and American Governments.

Such negotiation was rendered impossible by the continued refusal of USA to recognise the Chinese Republic, although Britain had done so.

This refusal to recognise the Chinese Republic has been a puzzling feature of USA Eastern policy.

The present USA action, in arbitrarily and without recourse to the UN undertaking the defence of Formosa, coupled with the consistent policy aid to Chiang Kai Shek, can surely admit of only one interpretation: that the USA intends, so far as the Chinese Republic is concerned, to continue in a state, if not of war, of armed neutrality, instead of seeking peace and trade relations.

Suppose, however, that the Chinese Republic regards this action in Formosa as an act of aggression, attacks Formosa and calls upon the Soviet Union to fulfil its promise of mutual aid? What then? And has not the newly-united China, after 40 years of revolution and civil war, some claim to understanding?

## Folly of violence exposed

Never did an outbreak of hostilities display more clearly than this Korean war the utter folly of violence as a settlement of disputes.

The Koreans did not want their country cut in half; it can be little consolation to them to know that they are the "test case" which proves the effectiveness of the United Nations, if, as seems probable, defence of their country means its annihilation.

It is time some of our statesmen faced the realities of the situation: the five great powers can alone bring about peace in the Far East and put an end to the Korean tragedy.

This, and not winning the war, is the "Test Case" for the United Nations.

## US prevented mediation

Mediation, which does not mean settling terms on Russia or USA, but finding a common ground or minimum agreement, is perfectly possible, writes Mrs. Walser, UN representative of the USA section of the Women's International League.

But as yet the US Government has rejected even the idea of mediation.

This, she says is consistent with its action in the UN. Before there could be any discussion of the chances of mediation, the US Government merely announced that a force had been sent and called on UN to bless it.

Thus the UN became not only the Western Coalition certain people had always wanted, but a war council—a UN army v Russia.

When USA says she will not "make a deal" with Russia for peace in Korea, she is evading the issue. Russia made the admission of Peking representation a condition of her return to UN in January, long before the Korean crisis.

People ought to have more facts than they have about the Korean war, the letter concludes.

How many know, for instance, that a few days before the fighting started, emissaries from North Korea went to confer with South Korean authorities on the unification of Korea and landed in prison?

## FACTS AND FIGURES

### IX. War Economics

#### BRITAIN'S MANPOWER PROBLEMS

THE GIGANTIC increase of armament expenditure in the U.S. (\$10,000 m.—£3,750 m.)—followed by suggested increases in Britain and other Western Powers—indicates that the period of post-war "planning for peace" has come to an end and military demands again have top priority. "Welfare economics" has to yield to warfare economics.

This change implies that factories will have to turn out more tanks, guns, bombers and warships; and they have to curtail the output of various consumers' goods, of building materials and constructional steel for new houses, schools, hospitals and so forth. It was announced (Daily Express, July 20) that £500 m. will be spent on air raid shelters, partly for the purpose of atomic "defence" (if there is any).

The expansion of production of war materials has three important economic aspects: (1) transfer of workers to war industries, (2) reduction of capital investment for productive purposes and social services, (3) revision of the present import policy (£-expenditure is now restricted to 75 per cent. of the 1948 figure), in order to procure raw materials for war industries and stock-piling. This article deals only with the first problem: redistribution of labour.

If more workers are to be employed in

war industries and if the Armed Forces are to be increased (lengthening of military service by 6 months)—not taking account of part-time civil defence—then shifts in the present distribution of man-power will be necessary.

In the U.S. the number of registered unemployed fell from 4,684,000 in February, 1950, to about 3.4 m. in last June and is expected to decline further. Most of the "Atlantic-Pact" Powers still have a large number of unemployed: e.g., Italy over 1.8 m., Western Germany nearly 1.5 m., Belgium 220,000, etc. (France, however, has few unemployed.)

Britain's manpower-position is quite different. In consequence of the fortunately high level of employment (the number of unemployed being 285,000) the "supply of labour" for expanding industries is limited. In case of a large increase of the Armed Forces even an acute shortage of workers may develop in some industries.

There is another important factor which influences the number of available labour: the declining proportion of young workers now under 20 years of age. (Cf. Registrar-General's Statistical Review, 1948, Vol. II, p.4.) In 1948 there were 3.1 m. persons (1.57 m. males, 1.54 m. females) in the age of 20-25, nearly 2.9 m. 15-20 and less than 2.8 m. 10-15 in England and Wales. With an extension of the military service the number of young workers will appreciably decline.

The effect of "war economy" on employment is shown below:

#### DISTRIBUTION of MANPOWER in Great Britain.—(New Series in 1948)

	1938	1942	1945	1948	1948	1950
(in thousands)	June	June	June	June	June	April
Working Populatn., MALES	14,476	15,141	14,881	14,628	16,057	16,085
FEMALES	4,997	6,915	6,768	5,727	7,089	7,266
ARMED FORCES (incl. release)	385	4,091	5,130	938	938	719
UNEMPLOYED	1,710	87	103	272	282	322
Total, CIVIL EMPLOYMENT	17,378	17,872	16,416	19,064	21,926	22,310
of whom:						
Agriculture & Fishing	949	1,002	1,041	1,123	1,268	1,256
Mining & Quarrying	849	823	799	839	869	846
Central Government Service	1,386	2,112	994	991	688	659
Local	1,386	2,112	1,036	1,228	766	784
Gas, Water, Electricity	240	214	196	275	296	323
Transport & Shipping	1,225	1,217	1,252	1,472	1,814	1,804
Distributive Trades	2,882	2,173	1,958	2,354	2,689	2,821
Building & Contracting	1,264	893	722	1,375	1,497	1,488
Commerce, Professional	2,220	1,690	1,598	2,157	3,925	3,908
Various manufacturing	6,363	7,354	6,820	7,250	8,114	8,421

Source: Monthly Digest of Statistics.

NOTE: Since June, 1948, the commencing date of the National Health Scheme, a new basis has been used for calculations and the figures now include previously uninsured workers and other categories. The "new series" is incomparable with the old.

War and large military expenditure considerably disrupt the productive system of a country. "At the end of War II, 42 per cent. of Britain's manpower was in the Armed Forces or was directly engaged in supplying them" (Economic Survey, 1947, p.9). But the destruction of lives is the

saddest and immeasurable loss.

The present "manpower reserve" in Britain is very small—about 1.4 per cent. of the workers are unemployed—and war industries and civil defence raise competitive claims.

If "war economy" creates a shortage of labour regulations may be introduced (Control of Engagement Order) for the purpose of directing workers to industries which are on the priority list.

F.R.

## Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, August 2, 1940

"You want to kill Nazism. You will never kill it by its indifferent adoption. You will have to be far more ruthless than the Nazis."

"To win the war, Britain must adopt with greater thoroughness the same work of destruction as the Germans, which would be an undignified competition."

"No cause, however just, can warrant indiscriminate slaughter going on minute by minute. I suggest that the cause that demands the inhumanities that are being perpetrated today cannot be called just."

—Mahatma Gandhi in a message to "every Briton, urging non-violence instead of war."

If we were pressed to pick out one single quality in the Nazi regime—or indeed in any totalitarian regime—in which it summed up all that makes it intolerable to the civilised and liberal mind, we should choose the eradication of the natural trust between man and man.

There is a very real danger of this disease growing rapidly among us.

## WHO WROTE THIS?

A reader asks for any information as to the source of the following lines, found in a destroyed Cologne air-raid shelter and written in a child's hand:

I believe in the Light even when the sun does not shine,  
I believe in Love even when it is not given,  
I believe in God even though His voice is silent.

Replies should be addressed to The Editor, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Italian CO Mario Barbani, whose arrest was reported in Peace News on June 30 after he had thrown his rifle at the foot of an Italian Army General during an inspection, has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment. "I will never fire against a brother," he told the Court-martial.

—WRI News Service



## CAN AFRICANS GOVERN? or, drawing the line at ebony rulers

Our self-appointed Commissioner for African Affairs has issued another of his unasked-for Reports. As he gets no salary, however, we have neither the means nor the reason for stopping him.  
—Ed., PN.

**W**E have been looking into the allegation, made by the Expert and Authority, that the African natives, and all other backward peoples, are quite unfit to rule themselves or control their own affairs.

The following summary of the black man's failings shows how right the Expert is:—

1. "The African native," says the Expert, "has no experience of modern methods of government."

The African replies that, for any man who can successfully rule several wives, the mere government of a State would be a piece of cake. Any Civil Servant could tell him, however, that you may beat your wives into submission, but utterly fail to beat a memorandum in triplicate on the tom-tom.

2. "They have no sense of obligation to Mankind."

They actually believed that the resources of their territory belong to them, not to Humanity. Let them take note that proud England, another backward area, has voluntarily submitted to the development, by the noble Americans, of hundreds of English acres as bomber bases for the defence of Humanity.

3. "They have neither the ability nor the desire to develop the rich potentialities of their land."

It has been the white men who have had to teach them to give the treasures of their gold and diamond mines to poor, needy Humanity in Wall Street and the City, and to ask for no reward save that of being kept alive by the white benefactors in order to work again for Humanity tomorrow.

4. "Their conception of Christianity is very primitive."

They display considerable difficulty in grasping the finer points of Western religion, such as the belief that the indiscriminate slaughter of women and children is increasingly becoming a Christian duty.

5. "They are ignorant of modern arts, crafts and sciences."

Nowhere do we see this more clearly than in their complete inability to make an atom bomb, or even to drop one accurately on a city.

6. "They won't work unless compelled."

The only way that the white man could get the native to work in the mines and factories was to take away his land and reduce him to penury.

If the natives would bend their idle backs it wouldn't be necessary for the white man to burden himself with so many mechanical gadgets for saving himself from toil.

7. "They are a discontented people, always aping their betters."

Hitherto fed on meagre porridge, they now want to share the carefully-balanced diet of vitamins, minerals, proteins, etc., that the white man's cattle receive.

8. "The dignity of labour is beyond their simple comprehension."

If they receive a little education, they immediately want a white collar job. But literacy is not enough to merit a white collar job; a white neck is also needed. The black neck is clearly made to carry burdens; it doesn't show the dirt.

9. "Hygiene and Health Services are primitive and riddled with tribal superstition."

Their witch-doctors certainly lag far behind ours in their ingenuity. It is doubtful if they have anything to match our typhus vaccine, made, as it is, from a suspension of the excreta of infected rat fleas.

10. "They are born gamblers."

Perhaps the supreme example of this is their staking of all they possess on the chance that the white man will give them a square deal.

Such degenerate types obviously cannot govern themselves. If allowed to attempt it, they would soon find themselves back in their thatched huts, with none of the amenities of a city house (made of petrol tins and canvas); they would doubtless soon become involved again in their tribal wars, using devilish poisoned arrows against one another, instead of learning to fight for mankind, like Christians, with civilised weapons.

The tribes might even enslave one another — having foolishly thrown away the freedom they now enjoy under the white man's rule (if they possess the requisite 20 to 30 permits and passes).

J. D. SMITH

## ECONOMICS WITHOUT TEARS

*Economics of Everyday Life*, by Gertrude Williams (Pelican, pp. 248. 1s. 6d.)

**T**HE purpose of this book is to simplify economics for the benefit of the layman who needs must understand if he is to change, and the layman who today wishes to understand must be an economist.

Do you know what is meant by the dollar gap, invisible exports, the balance of payments, inflation and devaluation? Do you know how banks manage to lend out ten times their deposits, how industry is located, why we managed to pay our way in 1938, yet are not doing so in 1950?

All these things are explained in a clear and lucid manner.

The book is also useful for those of us who crammed economics and "never wanted to look at a text-book again," for this book, in its 248 pages, will recall to memory the salient facts. I can hardly resist the urge to quote from this mass of facts and figures so lucidly and impartially presented, but as space forbids I must content myself with:

"Perhaps the most valuable lesson one can learn from a study of economics is distrust of the man with a panacea. You can always be sure that the snap answer is the wrong answer."

Altogether an excellent book.

GEORGE PLUME

## GANDHI AND SCHWEITZER Etchings for PN Fund

**T**HE Peace News Fund has been presented with ten signed etchings of Mahatma Gandhi and two of Albert Schweitzer, the work of the German Quaker artist, Eberhard Tacke.

In sending them to Peace News, the artist writes: "I am a reader of PN since about two years. I want to help your PN fund . . . With my very best wishes for your work for peace."

The etchings, which are being sold at 10s. 6d. each, may be seen at the Peace News office or will be sent post free on receipt of a cheque or PO made payable to Peace News, Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

VERA BRITAIN reviews

a new book about OLIVE SCHREINER

## A FORERUNNER

Not Without Honour. The Life and Writings of Olive Schreiner. Vera Buchanan-Gould. Hutchinson, 15s.

**M**ANY YEARS AGO, I wrote a book with the title *Not Without Honour*. It was my second novel, the story of an exhibitionist clergyman who died performing a deed of conspicuous heroism in Gallipoli owing to his overwhelming instinct to play to the gallery.

I was naturally interested to see how Vera Buchanan-Gould had interpreted the same title. I do not think that her use of it is as appropriate as mine, for the quality of my hero's gallantry left some doubt in the reader's mind. There is not the same doubt with regard to Olive Schreiner. Far from being merely "not without honour," I believe that she will gradually come to be recognised as one of the most remarkable pioneers that the nineteenth century produced. Even now she ranks as unquestionably the greatest writer to emerge, up-to-date, from any Dominion excluding India.

Her literary qualities were inseparable from her capacity for revolutionary thought on all the great questions which still stir mankind. In 1885, twenty-two years before Mrs. Pankhurst and the suffragettes really began to go full-steam ahead, Olive Schreiner in *The Story of an African Farm* was speaking up as uncompromisingly as they on "man's inhumanity to woman," and emphasising the right of women to freedom and equality. In 1911 her mature study, *Woman and Labour*, sounded like a clarion call to the young generation which was about to be precipitated into an era of violent change by the first World War.

\*

Olive Schreiner was not merely destructive of outworn traditions; before her fiery vision of a totally new relationship between men and women, the half-apologetic constitutional suffrage movement which preceded the Women's Social and Political Union paled into feeble insignificance. "When that time comes," she wrote in *The Story of an African Farm*, "when love is no more bought or sold, when each woman's life is filled with earnest, independent labour, then love will come to her, a strange sudden sweetness breaking in upon her earnest work; not sought for, but found."

At a time when the subjection of the coloured peoples was taken even more confidently for granted than the subjection of women, Olive Schreiner in *Trooper Peter Halket* and other writings made the same passionate appeal for the recognition of their human rights as Winifred Holtby launched in the nineteen-thirties and Michael Scott is making today. She also sought to substitute a new code of morals for the conventional Victorian ethics which dominated both South Africa and England at the time of her birth in 1855 and throughout her life. Her concern for a new morality was not limited to the field of sex, though here too she was a pioneer demanding from men a standard of conduct which today is widely, though still reluctantly, accepted as basic to civilised behaviour.

"This petty, uncomprehending world," writes her biographer, "is more than ripe for a complete revision of the moral code, and people like Olive Schreiner will probably be truly recognised as great when the time comes for this to be done. Is it, for example, a greater crime to steal a woman's handbag, or steal her belief in her own integrity?"

Finally, Olive Schreiner was an outspoken opponent of war, and an upholder, though she regarded herself as a rationalist, of those Christian values to which she subscribes in the great series of allegories that place her, without disrespect to either, in the same literary category as John Bunyan. As a woman in her sixties, old for her age and suffering from asthma, she identified herself with the conscientious objectors of 1914-1918 when most of her friends were endeavouring to believe at all costs that their sons and brothers were dying in a glorious cause.

\*

It is hardly surprising that for this remarkable woman, so far in advance of her time, life was a tragedy of misunderstanding and poverty despite the short period of fame which followed the publication of *An African Farm*. Her long love-affair with Havelock Ellis, who was inclined towards sexual inversion, came inevitably to grief. Less tragic but almost as unsatisfactory was her marriage to Samuel Cronwright, an orthodox if high-brow farmer, though it must be acknowledged that, against the background of his era, he accepted the repercussions of Olive's beliefs and actions with creditable toleration. Existing uncomfortably in shabby boarding-houses and cheap hotels, from which she was frequently turned out during the 1914

War owing to her unpopular views and German name, she lived within her own mind, and became increasingly eccentric as she grew older.

All these facts are brought out conscientiously, devotedly and intelligently by Vera Buchanan-Gould. Her book is written on conventional lines; she makes no attempt to experiment with the essentially modern fusion of biography and fiction which combines the veracity of the historian with the imaginative insight of the novelist. Her external observation is nevertheless carried out with consistent sympathy and understanding. A thorough investigator, she has tapped many sources of new material and convincingly re-estimated the old. She never imposes herself between her theme and the reader, and this, when the subject is as complex and significant as Olive Schreiner, makes her book a fine achievement.

## AN OPEN WORLD

Danish atomic scientists appeal to U.N.

**A**N "Open World"—one in which the nations will have no scientific or medical secrets to keep from one another—is the peace prescription which a distinguished Danish atomic scientist, Niels Bohr, puts forward in an "Open Letter to the United Nations," published recently in Copenhagen.

The efforts of all supporters of international co-operation, individuals as well as nations, he says, will be needed to create in all countries a body of public opinion in favour of a great move to free the channels of information.

Niels Bohr escaped from Nazi-occupied Denmark in 1943 and came to England at the invitation of the British Government. The atomic experts admitted him to the circle of those who were working on the Anglo-American project for an atomic bomb.

Everyone in that circle, he says, was conscious of problems which would comfort humanity once the enterprise was accomplished. But Bohr, himself, has the insight to divine that "The necessity for a concerted effort to forestall such ominous threats to civilisation would offer quite unique opportunities to bridge international divergences."

\*

Even in the midst of a war, he thought, and in the course of research which, apart from its general significance for the advancement of knowledge, was likely to lead to the use of the bomb, there was an urgent need for an international effort for the pooling of information. For early consultations between the Allies about the best ways jointly to obtain security against the use of atomic discoveries for destruction might help to create that atmosphere of confidence which would be so much needed in the post-war world.

He presented a detailed memorandum to President Roosevelt on the subject and had a long talk with him, arguing that the nation which had achieved the lead should take the initiative in expressing readiness to share information and to collaborate with other powers.

He made further representations to the United States Government in 1945, and did all he could to advocate that steps to achieve international co-operation "on the elimination of the new menaces to world security" should precede any thought of the possibility of using atomic weapons. He returned to England before the atomic bombs fell on Japan.

Since the war Niels Bohr has used further opportunities to press his plea for absolute openness as a pre-condition of security. He wanted one nation—the United States—to throw down the barriers against the free exchange of information which unconventional gesture of goodwill which might have most promising results. He is still urging that course.

"An Open World," says Niels Bohr, "in which a nation asserts itself solely to the extent that it can contribute to the common culture and is able to help others with its experience and resources must be the goal to be put above everything else."

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P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C1

## News in Brief

### Pacifism doesn't earn dollars

Five Jehovah's Witnesses were detained on Ellis Island today when they arrived with 305 other colleagues from Britain and France aboard the Queen Elizabeth. The Immigration Director said: "If we feel they are advocating extreme pacifism we shall hold them for further study."—News Chronicle, July 21.

### 175 to the good

An American army spokesman has disclosed that military service is barred to members and sympathisers of 175 organisations listed as subversive by the U.S. Attorney-General.

### We taught them that

Pyongyang Radio, North Korea, has announced that a committee is being formed to investigate war crimes perpetrated by American and Syngman Rhee forces.

### Keeping it dark

General MacArthur last week embargoed yet another two journalists, this time for "reporting disillusionment among troops." Later, after protests, MacArthur was forced to lift his personal censorship on the Press representatives who had been compelled back from the Korea front. Said MacArthur, "My subordinates made the ban."

Previously, a journalist had been sent back for having reported a soldier as saying, "This a bloody useless war."

### Chains across the sea

British emigrants will be forced to register under Australia's new conscription law.

### Kagawa on tour

Toyohiko Kagawa, the famous Japanese Christian pacifist, made a tour of Norway during the first weeks of July at the invitation of three of the Norwegian Church Missions.

### COs start printing

Norwegian conscientious objectors, who are sent to civilian work camps instead of being conscripted for military service, have founded a co-operative press to ensure the continuous publication of their monthly paper "Mot Strommen" ("Against the Stream"). The members of the co-operative buy one or more shares at 5 kroner each.

### Danish summer school

The Scandinavian Joint Council of World Federalists is organising a summer school in Denmark from Aug. 5 to 12. The main subjects of study are world government and world citizenship.



# EATING OUR OWN TAILS

## The danger of declining soil fertility

**H**UNGER, the most potent cause of war, is rapidly overtaking humanity. What are we who profess and call ourselves peacemakers doing about it?

by **NEWMAN TURNER**

Farmer and Editor of *THE FARMER*,  
Overseer of West Somerset Friends  
Monthly Meeting.

Age in relation to population increases. So the intellectuals of the world talk about population control—reducing populations to the level of food supplies, instead of increasing food supplies to the level of the population.

Science has had a generation of unbridled liberty and has failed where nature formerly succeeded. God in his goodness has provided the means of abundance; science in its arrogance has perverted and destroyed. The only way the damage may now be repaired is by the ways of nature. The time is ripe for a moratorium on science until such time as man's moral and spiritual development can catch up with his inventive genius.

Nature designed the human and animal bodies so that all waste matter, once it has served the purpose of bodily sustenance, should fall back to the earth. Man has cut across this essential cycle of nature with his mahogany seats and porcelain containers. Hygiene is right in its place, but when it goes to the extent of serving as a drain to the life-blood of man, then it becomes sheer suicide.

### We starve the soil—and ourselves

Sewage is the essence of life. We must preserve it at all costs. The only logical result of our continued wastage of fertility through our modern sewage disposal system is starvation.

We must, therefore, insist on the return to the soil of its origin, properly composted to avoid unpleasantness, all organic town wastes. It is our only hope of being able to restore the fertility of the earth's surface to the stage when it will once more feed the growing populations of the world.

Surely nobody has the audacity to assume that the Creator planned a world with a population in excess of food supplies. We may be certain then, that if we respect the laws of the universe, food supplies will be adequate to the natural population fluctuations.

### And we spoil our food

The more personal approach to the problem is to be sure that the best possible use is made of available fertile soil and the food that it grows; to see that our food is whole and untampered with.

We are ailing because what we eat is no longer capable of sustaining us in health. The food has been refined until its nutritive and health-giving properties have gone.

In this country at least, the new Whole Food Society is doing great work putting consumer members in touch with sources of direct supply of properly grown whole food. Nobody need be without good wholemeal bread, fresh vegetables and other produce. We must get closer to the source of our food supply if we are to avoid the sort of tampering that has resulted in food destruction and waste on a scale quite as serious in its effects as soil exploitation.

Ideally, of course, we should each take a hand in the production of our own food; that may well be the only real solution to the problem of food shortages. Someone has said, very aptly, "Never were so many fed by so few." The man who grows his own food may well be the only one to survive the certainty of famine.

## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

by **J. Allen Skinner**

**T**HE Editor has been kind enough to agree to let me have a regular column on behalf of the No Conscription Council in order to give news of the work done by and for the Council in its attempt to get rid of conscription in this country.

These notes will, I expect, be in the main concerned with news about work done or in contemplation by the Council or its local groups in order to make more evident to the Government the deep, if at present latent opposition that exists in regard to its attitude on this matter. I want to devote my two first contributions, however, to an appeal to pacifists to pay more attention to the conscription issue than many of them have done hitherto.

There is a tendency to say—and looked at from a certain angle the force of the contention can be recognised—that conscription is just a minor aspect of the fight against war: that those who are prepared to accept war should clearly be prepared to accept conscription if military opinion holds that conscription is necessary to wage war; and if it is merely a question of whether the military point of view that backs conscription is mistaken—well, it is not the business of the Pacifist to concern himself with this dispute. It is his job to manifest his opposition to war, however it is to be fought.

**I**N 1916 the Army decided to take exemplary measures against COs. Thirty-four of them were transferred to France so that they could be dealt with under emergency martial law. They were closely confined, some in irons, and were subjected to the severest form of field punishment. Finally they were told, at special parades, that they were condemned to death. When the effect was judged to have sunk in sufficiently the commanding officer added that the sentence was commuted to one of long imprisonment.

All this was planned without the knowledge of the general public. There is little doubt that worse measures still would have been carried out had it not been for the intervention of pacifists at home. Sheer importunity alone forced the Government to act and stop the sentences. And among those playing a part in the moves to liberate the COs is the subject of our portrait today.

Hubert William Peet, who later that same year (1916) was himself to suffer imprisonment for conscientious objection, was one of two civilians who first saw these men in captivity and was able to report at home on their plight. For about a year before this he had been organising secretary of the Friends Service Committee, which was helping young Quakers and others who were making a conscientious stand, and he had also helped to organise a Press office for the No Conscription Fellowship.

Dr. F. B. Meyer, the celebrated preacher, was deeply concerned about the treatment of COs and had earlier seen Lord Kitchener about them. The No Conscription Fellowship now asked him to take on the further mission of visiting the COs in France. He agreed, and Hubert Peet was chosen to go with him. They crossed the Channel and carried out their mission.

There was not much that could be done immediately—Hubert Peet was not even allowed to speak to the COs, though he was permitted a handshake—but the visit was of considerable importance, as proving to the sufferers that their position was known in England and as demonstrating to the Army authorities that their actions were being closely watched by liberal and anti-conscription bodies. Above all there was the great moral influence of F. B. Meyer. There can be little doubt that it was very greatly worth while.

In November, 1916, Hubert Peet was arrested as a CO, court-martialled and sent to Wormwood Scrubs and later Wandsworth. After release he was again court-martialled and spent six months in Pentonville. A third time he was arrested and this time the sentence was for two years. His release on health grounds in March, 1919, before the expiry of his sentence was probably due largely to the personal applications to the Home Office of Hugh Spender, Parliamentary correspondent of the Westminster Gazette, who had visited him in prison and became interested in his case.

All that is a very long time ago, and, in common with other COs of the first war, Hubert Peet rarely refers to his prison experiences. But he did mention the other day a couple of recollections from the prison cell.

One was that he once got into trouble at Pentonville for refusing, on conscientious grounds, to handle execution tackle, which it was Pentonville's duty to send to other prisons.

And he remembers that once, after a little rub with the Governor of the prison on the interpretation of the regulations, the Governor remarked: "I once had that man



**HUBERT PEET**

under me who wrote some poetry about prison." "Do you mean Oscar Wilde?" asked Hubert Peet. "Yes, that's him," said the Governor. "Well, he was quite satisfied with his treatment. Why can't you men be?"

All his life he has witnessed against conscription and has championed the ancient peace testimony of the Society of Friends, of which he is one of the best-known members. Editor of *The Friend* for eighteen years, he has recently had to retire from ill-health—perhaps a long-term effect of his twenty-eight months' hard labour experience—but his editorship will long be remembered for his mature judgment, instinct for news, his skilled use of type and for the personal touch which has made *The Friend* something quite original in religious journalism.

He has never missed an opportunity to express Friends' views about conscription; one remembers in particular his eloquent exposure of the moral dangers being faced by young men in the BAOR.

Two visits to the United States and one to Palestine figure in the fairly long list of his travels. One of his American journeys was a tour of Negro universities in the cause of education for the coloured man, for which he has worked for many years.

A trained journalist of long experience, he has placed his skill at the service of many causes and has met many world figures, including Gandhi, Kagawa, Schweitzer and Dr. Aggrey. He recalls with particular appreciation the chivalrous personality of Clifford Allen, later Lord Allen of Hurtwood—"the perfect leader," he thinks, "of the young COs of the first World War."

### "JOURNALISM AND QUAKERISM"

As a mark of his readers' appreciation of his eighteen years editorship of *The Friend*, a presentation was made to Hubert Peet on July 14 at a special gathering at Friends House, London, to mark the occasion of his retirement.

Alfred Braithwaite, Chairman of the trustees, in making the presentation spoke about the successful way in which Hubert Peet had tackled the wartime and post-war difficulties with which he had to contend.

To many Quakers, he said, it had been something of a revelation to discover that it was possible to combine the standards and methods of modern journalism with good Quakerism. Hubert Peet had been a working journalist before he came to *The Friend* and he had proved how successfully this could be done.

inated—that it is indeed the thing for which the state machinery needs to exist—the fight against conscription has clear positive implications.

The maintenance of conscription as part of the state structure is the most formidable measure that can be taken in the subordination of the individual to the state machine. The ramifications of the compulsion brought to bear do not end with the 200,000 youths called up each year. The inroads on individual freedom that conscription leads to are diverse, and the compulsive tendency develops rapidly. We will take a glance at some of these things in next week's issue.

The application to youths of this kind of compulsion, governing the whole character of their lives, at the most susceptible period of their development creates just the kind of human being that most readily lends himself to subordination in a totalitarian, managerial, or Fabian order of society—to use some of the various names that may be applied to the Servile State into which we are permitting ourselves to be led.

I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that in pacifist activity today the most constructive thing that can be done, so long as it is accompanied by a positive exposition of the aspirations for a society of free men and women that must govern a pacifist outlook, can find its most effective expression in a vigorous and continuous opposition to conscription.

### Science has failed

"Science can do it," says Lord Boyd Orr, speaking of the problem of world food shortage.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

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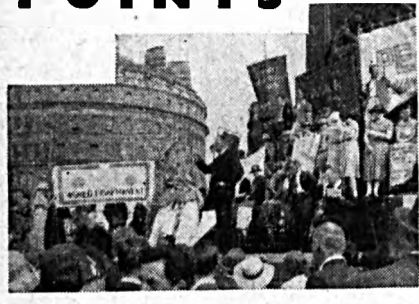
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## PLATFORM POINTS



### ALL AGGRESSORS

When the Russian trained and equipped North Koreans invaded the South, we asked Russia to "use her influence" to stop the fighting.

It is ironical to recall that Britain did not use her own influence to prevent the attack on Palestine in which the Arab Legion, British trained, equipped, and led, took part.

"... the Arab Legion... demonstrates most strikingly what can be achieved by the combination of natural Arab fighting-men and expert British officers. The Arab Legion now numbers not much more than 8,000 well-equipped and fully trained men, but during the Palestine war it reached 12,000."

—The Economist, July 15.

But, apparently, it is easier to equip than to control a puppet army, for:

"... the British Government, whose grant-in-aid of £3,000,000 a year pays for the Legion, is again keeping it very short of ammunition, particularly for its heavier guns. This seems to be a deliberate insurance that the Legion will not be used by King Abdullah—in one of his more hot-headed moments—for operations against any of his, to him, singularly irritating neighbours, especially Syria."

—The Economist, July 15.

### THE GREAT DELUSION

The Western Powers strategy is based on two assumptions. First, Russia would not risk war at present because the United States has more atomic bombs and because the Western Powers are superior in industrial potential. (Steel production greater by 4-1, petroleum by 7-1, and electric power by 5-1.)

Second, by the time Russia has sufficient atomic bombs, the United States will have armed the West with atomic and "push-button" weapons so that the cost of war (to Russia) would be prohibitive.

It is dangerous to assume that any great power ever regards the cost of war as prohibitive. If Russia wanted war she would not hesitate to risk pitting superior manpower and a callous disregard of life against a superior industrial potential.

The Western nations must base their hopes on peace on something more reliable than superior weapons.

Today, the Russians are known to be producing each year:

- 3,000 tanks,
- 2,000 latest-type jets,
- 500 long-range atomic bombers.

"She has 30-40 airfields in Eastern Europe big enough for the bombers, five times as many submarines as Hitler had in 1940, 40,000 tanks, and 20,000 self-propelled guns."

—From an article by Rodney Campbell in the Daily Graphic, July 11.

### COST OF COLD WAR

'One of the most serious threats to European economic progress lies in the drying-up of economic relations between the two halves of Europe.'

"It should be recalled that a very great expansion of trade was advanced in the early days of the European Recovery Programme as an indispensable element in its success. Since then, however, matters have gone from bad to worse."

"This is only one of the costs of the cold war," lately declared Mr. Gunner Myrdal, (Executive Secretary to the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe); "Another is the growing burden of military expenditures, which threatens to stifle again, as it has so often in the past, the chances of economic progress in both East and West by diverting resources into the construction of armaments and the maintenance of military forces."

—Commerce Weekly, June 17-July 1.

### IN CLOUDLAND

"If Democracy is to fight Communism the first thing is to throw overboard the free institutions that make it superior. Let's have a purge."

"A great world institution like the United Nations is dangerous because of its weakness. The way to build its future is to undermine its present."

"World moral authority is all very well, but it's no good for fighting ideas. That takes force, my boy. Tallyho! Let's go out and shoot a couple of ideas."

—Captions to a Low cartoon, Daily Herald, July 21.

### War and morality

SHORTLY after the end of the war a young boy committed a wilful murder in Berlin and was given by the court a sentence to life imprisonment. He accepted it without any objection, but later in his cell he said to a social worker who visited him:

"I am not quite sure whether this sentence was fair or not. I had to go to the Army when I was not much more than a child. Once, in Russia, German troops were attacked by partisans. Then the people of the village were flocked together, mostly old men, women, children. I was driver of a tank then. As a repressive measure against the whole village we had to run our tanks over the crowd, killing all those civilians, literally flattening them. At that occasion I committed a horrible mass slaughter, upon order. This time I killed one single man who, as I had been told, was a social nuisance. Why am I punished so heavily now and was not punished then?"

HEINZ KRASCHUTZKI

Germany.

### Japanese pen friends

I AM a Caravaneer—The Caravan of East and West, New York City—and an English instructor at a school. I devote my spare time to propagation of world peace through correspondence, and I keep in close touch with branches of the International Friendship League in England, service secretaries of which are kind enough to send second-hand magazines to 30-odd Caravan Chapters I have formed here in Japan.

I want this letter to reach you before World Peace Day, August 6th, so that you may know how fervently all Japanese Caravaneers, over 6,000 young people in all, will offer their prayers to God for the peace of the world on that memorable day.

I lived not far from Nagasaki when I witnessed so many innocent children and old men and women being carried to the hospitals. A month ago the vernacular paper reported that an American missionary teacher at a school in Nagasaki had wired to President Truman in petition not to use the atomic bomb in future. The story said that the Principal of the school, after being a long time in hospital, had died from the harm he had received from the radio-action of the A-bomb, and that the conscience of the young teacher, Robert K. Smith by name, had been so struck by this that he had felt compelled to send the wire.

The Japanese know very well that Japan would have used the bomb in the last war if they had had an opportunity, and that they have no right to accuse those who dropped the bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

I have never been in your country, but I have heard many times of Trafalgar Square; and on August 6th the Caravaneers of Japan will be reminded of the very significant Peace-News sponsored Trafalgar Square assembly of pacifists of Britain with deep appreciation and gratitude.

Japan has constitutionally outlawed wars and armaments, intending to rebuild herself as a cultural, peace-loving nation, along the lines of modern democracy and individual freedom. In order to live up to the spirit of our new Constitution, we insist upon permanent neutrality as well as an overall treaty—if, indeed, Japan's treaty is to be concluded at all.

Extreme doubt has come to be entertained however, in the minds of the Japanese people, since the outbreak of the Korean civil war. And to our great terror and unbearable concern, the use of the A-bomb is reported to be in discussion among a group in order to speed up the cease-fire. I am an experienced girl of 27 and my knowledge of the world is limited; but I and all my girl-friends here fear tremendously that the Korean conflict may soon be backed by USSR, in opposition to UNO which, for the first time, has resorted to the last means of mass-murdering.

In this connection we see that Mahatma Gandhi was great, indeed, in devoting his life to that fundamental law of non-violence, the law of nature, the law of Christ, the inviolable law that must be obeyed by man so long as he is allowed to remain on earth.

HIDEKO MATSUDA

Taga-gise-mura,  
Saga-ken, Japan.

I HAVE received your name and address from Mr. Ichiro Ito: allow me to introduce myself. I am the Secretary of a correspondence club in Japan and looking for pen-friends in your country.

Our newly-established "Musashine Pen-Pal Club" aims to promote international peace and friendship. I know the misery of war. I try not to talk about it. But I am far from keeping silence about peace, which depends on real friendship and youthful courage.

We, who are members of the club, are all young and honest people. We wish to have pen-friends from whom we may learn the thoughts and ideologies of your country. If you would be so kind as to help me in telling my aim to your people I shall be very much obliged.

SEIICHI MORITA

1-81 Ogawa,  
Kodaira,  
Kokubunji Poz.,  
Tokyo, Japan.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### International help for children

SINCE October, 1949, we have been privileged to give 71 Greek children between the ages of 6-14 years a recuperative holiday lasting from five to nine months. All the children were chosen from families affected by war or famine, and in which one or both parents had been killed. After five months 10 of the children returned home and a further 40 reached Athens on July 4.

Much discussion and a certain amount of criticism has been aroused as to the wisdom of such relief work, and its effect on the child returning to such severely contrasting conditions as those existing between this country and Greece.

Through the generous invitation of the Hellenic Mediterranean Shipping Line, I was able to visit Greece from June 17 to July 5. During the 14 days that I was in the country I travelled by truck and jeep as far north as Salonika and Florina, and visited such towns as Larissa, Lamia, Kastoria and Kozani, as well as many isolated and totally devastated villages on the way—many of them the scene of fierce fighting less than a year ago. During my trip I visited the homes of eight of the children who had returned in March and were then in their own families. It is foolish to generalise, but from conversations with them and their mothers, with local mayors, village presidents and relief workers, and from my own observations I have reached certain positive conclusions:

1. The children have been completely restored to normal health and have gained as much as one stone to two stones in weight.

2. They have been given stocks of new clothing both for themselves and for their families.

3. They have absorbed many fundamental principles of natural hygiene which I was assured they had returned, (i.e., the desirability of washing before eating).

4. They have spread through conversations an immense amount of goodwill, carried back with them from foster-parents in England. This, coming from children of 14 years and under, is accepted as being free from propaganda.

These results could only have been obtained by entertaining the children in England. Food parcels, however adequate, sent to a family in Greece will merely give a weeks extra rations to a small number of persons and will make no difference to their state of health—although, of course, such parcels have immense value. In the same way clothing, usually secondhand, sent by parcel from this country to relief workers in Greece, can only be distributed at the very best in a rather haphazard manner, and no child can be fitted into the clothes as we fit them, or as they were fitted whilst staying in families in England.

Finally if this work is to continue, and there seems nothing but the desire for it in Greece, we need the utmost support we can get from those who are prepared to give us substantial donations "IMMEDIATELY." A child can be completely restored to health and reclothed for the cost of £25, which, of course, includes free hospitality in English families, as well as treatment in our Convalescent Home for the first four weeks.

All donations should be sent to:

The Honorary Treasurer,  
International Help for Children,  
43 Parliament Street, S.W.1.

and will be acknowledged most gratefully.

JOHN BARCLAY,

Organising Secretary.

International Help for Children,  
43 Parliament Street, S.W.1.

### Divided we fall

VERA BRITAIN'S appeal for pacifist unity is specially needed in countries like New Zealand with a small population and peace movement.

Let our first loyalty be to an all-embracing body to which each may bring his unique contribution and draw strength for the tremendous challenge we face.

For pacifists should be well informed and worthy citizens, alert to opportunities for community service; on the spot in discussion groups, and wherever earnest citizens are met together for the common good.

We are called to use our time wisely, to love not only our enemy, but our fellow-pacifist, and to pool all our resources in the interests of truth and peace.

The World Pacifist Meeting is our bright example.

NELLE BECK

Cashel Street,  
Christchurch, New Zealand.

### Denial

ON behalf of the Ministry for Correction of Misapprehensions, I am authorised to deny the rumour that, as Britain is using Hong Kong and the Malayan rubber plantations, she intends to cede to Asiatic interests, in exchange, the port of Bristol and the Cornish tin mines.

It is not true that Mr. Churchill intends to propose this in the House and that Lord Vansittart will place the scheme before the Lords.

While there may be a specious fairness about the suggestion, it is negated by the

consideration that such an exchange would mean the importation of a large number of godless Asiatics into our godly midst.

T. SULLIVAN

31 Knockbreda Park, Belfast.

### Can we be "non-political"?

IF Mrs. Winifred Greenfield will read again very carefully the "political" letter to which she so strongly objected, she will find that I clearly said that we pacifists must "vigorously criticise the foreign policy and militarist preparations of the present Labour Government."

My quotations concerning the direful state of large areas of Britain in the period between the two wars were taken from the protests of Ministers of the Gospel—men primarily concerned with spiritual ministrations to the spiritual needs of men, women and children in places such as Durham, Liverpool, and South Wales, but who found their holy task thwarted and hindered by cruelly bad and pressing social conditions.

To say that pacifism has nothing to do with such, and that in our criticism of Labour's militarism we must not in fairness admit some tribute to the present Government for its work of social alleviation is to line up with another and less commendable parson—the priest who passed by on the other side and left the wounded man where he lay, dying by the wayside.

My other quotations as to world conditions outside of Britain in the 1930s were taken from the League of Nations World Relief Statistics, data which Peace News 12 years ago, when our Pacifist giants, Dick Sheppard, George Lansbury, Arthur Ponsonby and Alfred Salter were with us, saw fit to reproduce and republish as being exceedingly relevant to the pacifist cause.

When away back in 1922 I joined the preceding pacifist body to the PPU, The "No More War Movement," our pledge included a resolve to build a new social order of co-operation for the common good and to work for the removal of the social causes which lead to war.

For many of us the pledge still holds; the fight against war is still linked with the fight against bad social conditions, nationally and internationally. For one bad thing leads to another and vice versa.

Peace and social justice are indivisible, and these questions are linked all the time with man's highest spiritual quests.

Well might Mahatma Gandhi say that he who thinks religion can be kept distinct from politics, does not know what religion means.

For us, surely, our pacifism is integrally a part of our understanding of Jesus and his prayer to his Father and ours: "Thy Kingdom Come. Thy will be done, on Earth as it is in Heaven."

JOSEPH JACKSON

19 Coombe Gardens,  
Bournemouth.

### The question of blame

UNDER the heading of Commentary in your issue of July 7, Douglas Rogers gives a deplorable exhibition of prejudiced thinking when he writes: "though no doubt Soviet influence must take the major blame for the actual outbreak of the war."

Millions of people are thinking in the same way, because lacking evidence of the initial act of aggression, they at once press the blame on the country which press and radio have told them is responsible for all sin and injustice, thus creating an attitude of tolerance towards war. Douglas Rogers evidence in the preamble to his own phrase mentioned is merely his own opinion about Communist strategy in Korea.

I have read half-a-dozen opinions, each different, yet all directed at imposing the ultimate blame on the Soviet Union, on the assumption that the Russians expressed a desire for peace is inevitably false. If that is so, why did they allow Yugoslavia, of far greater strategic importance to them than Korea, to re-orientate itself towards the West without intervention?

Strangely enough the rest of the Commentary is admirably directed towards exposing the "criminal imperialist record" of posing the "criminal imperialist record" of Britain, France, and the USA, whose current tendency to destroy the principles of the Atlantic Charter is evidenced by acts of aggression in Malaya, and Indo-China.

Does Mr. Rogers think the initiation of aggression by those who so clearly intend to prevent by force the Asiatic Peoples' desire for freedom incompatible with their motive. In this connection I would remind Mr. Rogers of the statement by Sygman Rhee reported in the New York Herald Tribune on Nov. 1, 1949—"if we had our own way we would, I am sure, have started up already. But we had to wait until they (the Americans) were ready. They keep telling us, No, No, No, You are not ready."

Bearing this date in mind it is important to note that the American objection is on the question of readiness—not to the proposed aggression.

There is other similar evidence, but I pose this case against the positive assertion of the Soviet Union's responsibilities, in order to show that it would be wiser and fairer to defer such judgment until both sides are heard.

E. L. TAPLIN

15 Heather Close,  
Romford, Essex.



# THE MOST FUTILE BOOK OF THE YEAR

Prof. Kathleen Lonsdale reviews the Civil Defence Manual

THE other day I saw, on a book-seller's placard, "Atomic Warfare, 2s."\* It struck me as incongruous, remembering the enormous expenditure now going on in the USA, USSR and Britain, on preparations for and against atomic warfare.

That, in itself, is another incongruity—that we are all preparing the very weapons against which we are all trying to defend ourselves.

We in Britain are providing launching grounds in East Anglia for atomic bombs—not for aggression, of course, but for "preventive defence" or "retaliatory defence."

We labour under the moral disadvantage of having already used the bombs, and used them first; but that, it was said, could be justified in terms of American soldiers' lives saved.

Or couldn't it? Would it be justifiable to use atomic bombs again in order to save soldiers' lives? This business of weighing evils one against the other is very difficult.

So don't let's think about it. Let us do something quite exceptional in the moral line. Let us learn how to save life, to relieve suffering, to rescue the perishing.

## An obvious target

If World War III begins soon, Britain will be an obvious target, with these launching grounds and atomic energy establishments all over the place, and those horrible Russians will probably drop a few bombs on us to begin with.

So it is very important that we should know how to detect radio-activity and contamination. Two hours training a week for six months, says Mr. Chuter Ede, will make us reasonably proficient.

The pity of it! Forty-seven thousand people have already volunteered—good, earnest people ready to give their time and energy in preparing for disasters that may never happen; disasters that never would happen if those 47,000 worked for peace with the same earnestness they apply to the task of minimising the effects of war.

Sixteen million people are eligible, nominally, as Civil Defence workers—eligible for a natty, blue uniform, beret and greatcoat, rank badge (all yours after ten weeks' training), with a quartz-fibre Electro-scope made like a fountain pen to fit in a pocket and all the rest of the good boy's bag of tricks.

## True account—of out-of-date bombs

What struck me first about the Manual on Atomic Warfare was that it is a really excellent account of the effects of atomic

bombs, such as those dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It ought to be, of course, because the scientific experts who advised the Home Office have had five years in which to study the effects and to draw lessons from Japanese experience.

The booklet is illustrated for 24 photographs, not calculated to inspire confidence or to minimise the effects of such bombs. One can only suppose some of the speakers in the Civil Defence debate in the House of Commons had never seen them.

## Hope springs eternal...

But the manual is cautiously optimistic, too... "No complete defence can be provided against any weapon of war, but just as it proved possible to devise methods of mitigating the consequences of other forms of attack in the last war, so it is certain that means can be found of mitigating the consequences of atomic warfare."

Well—I suppose that if you fall from an eight-storey window, the fact that a passer-by thoughtfully carries with him a first-aid set may be useful, provided you are not dead.

Again: "It is confidently hoped, as time goes on and knowledge increases, that the defence can be steadily improved." Not that the necessity for defence can be removed, you notice; no hope of that is mentioned.

## Which is ahead—defence or attack?

"It is the business of defence to catch up, as it has always caught up" (sic). Oh? Then won't that American stock pile be any use? Or have they got a few A-bombs—or H-bombs—up their sleeve that are more powerful than those used five years ago?

An American Senator did say that they had some 1,000 times as powerful now, and a few scientists have hinted as much; so perhaps we are still ahead of defence, after all. That's a comfort.

But wait! Perhaps Russia has some more powerful too? What a horrible thought! Because in that case, the "gaps" in our knowledge casually referred to in the text may widen instead of being gradually filled.

However—"As further data becomes available, training will be given, not only in appreciating the situation, but also in any preventive steps that may be devised."

Training in appreciation should be useful.

## It depends where you are

"The thickness of all ordinary materials which will afford complete immunity from the effects of gamma rays" (provided that you happen to be behind them, of course) will be notified in due course."

"Training will be initiated in due course, so as to prepare rescue parties and others to operate under conditions which may be quite unfamiliar at present."

"On the other hand, any area experien-

cing heavy contamination from a low air burst bomb will almost certainly be completely pulverised by blast unless there were people trapped in shelters in this area there might be no immediate need for any Civil Defence or other personnel to enter it."

My italics. All the rest would be dead. Instructions for the prevention of plague not given. Let's hope the rats would be dead too.

On the whole, I think that the best Civil Defence, and the quickest, would be for those 16 million people to write to their MPs and demand that the launching grounds shall be removed and genuine negotiations for world-disarmament begun.

It won't earn them a nice new uniform, but it may earn their children a new lease of life. And the money saved could be spent on rebuilding all the schools black-listed since 1910. It's about time.

# Clearly an Oversight

WE could face anything, we decided, even the prospect of the Third World War and another 2d. on cigarettes, if our Leaders were in good heart.

We have, therefore, been searching the newspapers the past few weeks on the lookout for any words of inspiration which might have squeezed in between the cricket scores and the newsprint shortage.

We found plenty. Let us commence, as usual, with Mr. Churchill, the People's Comforter. Speaking at an American Independence Day Dinner recently, he said: "I could not foresee that... we should be once again brothers-in-arms, engaged in fighting for exactly the same causes that we thought we had carried to victory five years ago."

If that's the case with him, then it seems a pity he did not become, five years ago, a regular reader of Peace News. It is distressing to see an Elder Statesman floundering about in world affairs like a beginner. Cannot the Subscription Department, even at this late stage, do something about it?

In connection with Korea, Mr. Churchill was even more at sea. He declared:

"I say we have had hard luck. Just when we thought we had finished with Hitler and Mussolini, with Nazism and Fascism, we have Stalin and Communism lumping up against us, representing the former Hitler tyranny in barbaric form and Asiatic guise."

That a former Prime Minister can describe the logical sequence of events leading from 1945 to 1950 as "hard luck" explains much of the recent past of this island race, but does not augur well for the future.

Nevertheless, he is not down-hearted. He is still able to inspire us with those strikingly original phrases of which he is

## Up and doing!

## HAVE YOU...?

HAVE YOU... been reading this column week by week and responding, whenever you can, to the urgent need to secure new PN readers?

New subscriptions are coming in at a greatly increased rate, almost all of them on the special sales leaflet/order-forms which active readers are distributing with specimen copies.

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H.F.M.  
Circulation last week... 9,800 copies.

such a master. For example: "We must do our duty," or, "We shall stand four square to all the winds that blow."

The glint of battle is in the Old Man's eye; he is eagerly sniffing the air. For what? Not for the smell of blood (that was very rude of Mr. Driberg), but for the intoxicating scent of power.

We hate to say it, but we fear Mr. Churchill is something of a Koreanist.

Perhaps, we felt, the present Prime Minister would provide something even better. Mr. Attlee had the advantage of serving his apprenticeship under his illustrious predecessor. He did not disappoint us.

Confronted with the situation in Korea, a situation involving daily loss of life and untold danger for the future, Mr. Attlee treated an applauding House to a statesmanlike speech which boiled down to the necessity of "detering the aggressor."

Only one thing worries us. Mr. Attlee is, we understand, a well-educated man. We can only conclude, therefore, that he is unaware of what appears to us an obvious omission from our information services.

The little affair of 1939-1945 was, we seem to remember, also intended, among other things, to deter the aggressor; and it was carried to such a glorious and successful conclusion that no potential aggressor who knew of it would ever, we were sure, dare to aggress again.

Clearly, then, the story of the decline and fall of Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito has never been translated into the Korean language.

We suggest that this only needs to be done, and the appropriate leaflets to be dropped over the battlefield, for the North Koreans to scuttle back to their original positions with untirly-eighthparallel speed.

CYRIL HUGHES

## Notes for your Diary

Monday, August 7

TOWER HILL: 1 p.m. Speakers: Jack Sutherland and Gwyneth Anderson; PPU.

Wednesday, August 9

CAMBERWELL: 8.15 p.m. Poster parade, commencing Wren Rd. (facing Chamberwell Green). Help is wanted for handing out leaflets; PPU.

Thursday, August 10

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air Meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Saturday, Aug. 12-Sunday, Aug. 13

LONDON, S.W.5: International Week-end Conference on the Colonial Problem; International People's College, 10 South Bolto Gardens, S.W.5.

Sunday, August 13

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; North London Region, PPU.

GLASGOW: 7 p.m. Brunswick Street, Open-air meeting; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air Meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Monday, August 14

TOWER HILL: 1 p.m. Speakers: Jack Sutherland and Gwyneth Anderson; PPU.

Saturday, Aug. 19

HIGH WYCOMBE: 3 p.m. 6 Terry Road; Garden Party; Speaker: Stuart Morris; South Bucks Area; PPU.

Saturday, Aug. 19 - Sat., Aug. 26

BANGOR: The George Hotel; Summer Conference; "The Purpose of Jesus and World Order"; For.

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We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

### MEETINGS

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube). Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

WORLD CONVENTION of religions on the foundations of peace. Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.1. Aug. 18-24. Representatives of 9 religions and 42 organisations from 25 countries will speak. Sessions: 10 a.m., 2.30 p.m., and 7 p.m. Whole week 12s. 6d., single session 1s., day ticket 2s. Write to Secretary, Vedanta Movement, 11 Albert Street, N.W.1. for Programme.

### ACCOMMODATION

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### PERSONAL

ALL MEMBERS of the Christian Church interested in World Federation as a way to permanent peace should write to World Union, 105 Parkway, N.W.1.

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OLD WOODBROOKER, lecturer in German College, wishes to spend a month in England (August, September). A student (man or girl) could go in exchange to his old school, the well-known progressive Odenwaldschule, in beautiful country, 15 miles from Rhine, 20 from Heidelberg. Write Dr. W. Meas Fr. Voigtlander Str. 17d Braunschweig, Germany.

PACIFIST GENTLEMAN urgently requires temporary financial assistance. Can any kind person please help or advise where help can be obtained. Will repay fully. Exemplary character and security offered. Box 188.

### LITERATURE, &c.

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WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps, an undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

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for Active Pacifists  
**THE PPU JOURNAL**  
Monthly Fourpence  
From Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4, or your local PPU Group (Postage 1d.)

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What struck me first about the Manual  
on Atomic Warfare was that it is a really  
excellent account of the effects of atomic

Civil Defence Manual of Basic Training,  
Vol. II. "Atomic Warfare," HMSO,  
2s. net.

As this is a free service, we reserve the  
right to select for publication notices sent  
to us. We nevertheless desire to make it as  
complete a service as we reasonably can,  
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1. Send notices to arrive not  
later than Monday.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time,  
Place (hall, street); nature of  
event; speakers, organisers (and  
secretary's address)—preferably in  
that order and style.

Saturday, August 5

FINSBURY PARK: 3 p.m. 3 Black-  
stock Road, N.4; Poster parade and leaflet  
distribution for World Peace Day Rally;

Sunday, August 6

TRAFALGAR SQUARE: 3 p.m. Peace  
Rally. See announcement on page one.

GLASGOW: 7 p.m. Brunswick Street,  
Open-air meeting; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 5 p.m. Kingsway  
Hall, Kingsway; The Rev. L. V. Heslop,  
P.A. on "The New Testament Basis of  
Pacifism"; Methodist Pacifist Fellowship.

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. World  
Peace Day mass meeting; Speakers: Brian  
Anderson, Kenneth Anderson; North London  
Region, PPU.

FAPLIN



## Communism cannot be stopped by militarism

(continued from page one)

up their opinions he believed this would be their declaration of faith:

"We believe that war as an instrument of policy, whether waged within a country, by a nation or a group of nations, cannot settle anything satisfactorily.

"It leaves in its trail more problems than it sets out to solve.

"It dislocates economy and leaves death, poverty and misery on untold millions of innocent people.

"We therefore implore the leaders of all nations to abandon the use of force and pursue peace with the same energy as that with which they are preparing to destroy life and property."

### Not a police operation

Emrys Hughes said he did not share the view that this Korean war was a police operation. It might lead to a long and bloody struggle all over Asia.

He protested with all his power, he said, against the decision to send young conscripts into it. They did not understand these international disputes.

If there really was all this desire to go to war, which hon. members said there was, why not trust to volunteers?

He warned the House about the situation in Germany. There was no enthusiasm for this rearming. German Socialists, Social Democrats and trade unionists were all against it.

### Civil war in Europe

To talk of waging war against Communism in Europe was to ignore the fact that large numbers of French trade unionists were Communists.

"If this struggle breaks out," he said, "We shall see civil war in Europe."

Futherr, large scale war organisations would see the worst kind of Communism—military Communism.

There would be more controls, more nationalisation without compensation, the disappearance of sterling balances—and, incidentally, the end of the capitalist system.

### And Churchill in Britain

It meant guns before butter, the sacrifice of the social services, and lining up in a Coalition behind the right hon. member for Woodford (Mr. Churchill).

There never was a greater delusion than this idea of a great crusade against Communism.

And they who were making that protest were doing a service to the country and to that international Socialism which was the hope of the world.

## Why does Church's witness fail?

THE Conference on "Church and War" held recently in Detroit sent out a call "renounce war and seek reconciliation" to all Christians and all Churches.

Attended by four hundred Christian pacifists from many denominations and peace groups the Conference ended by urging:

"That the Churches look more deeply into the causes of international war and ask themselves why their witness is not more effective in those areas of social, economic and political tensions in American and world life which are today contributory to cold war and armed conflict."

The Conference also advocated individual action such as that of Gandhi, and appealed for a complete repentance for war-making and a total break with all war.

### WE ARE OBLIGING

The Swedish Defence Minister, Alan Vought, said last week that, thanks to the "obliging attitude of several countries," Sweden has placed considerable armaments orders abroad.

## Emrys Hughes, M.P.

writes every week in

## FORWARD

On sale everywhere — Friday 2d.

Postal subscription 13s. yearly

from **FORWARD**, 26 Civic Street, Glasgow, C.4.

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## BITTERNESS IN S. AFRICA

but one hopeful sign — says Muriel Lester

MURIEL LESTER, returned from a tour of South Africa, addressed a gathering of pacifists recently at the For Headquarters, Gordon Square, London.

Her account of her experiences, and of the profound impressions they made, gave the audience much food for thought.

She admitted that the situation there was depressing. The attitude of the Africans had been a shock to her.

She had always vaguely thought, like so many people, that the English had done a good job in South Africa: Campbell Bannerman had given the Boers back their country—and so on.

But she found that the most powerful race in South Africa today were filled with the bitterness of a people beaten in war. It was the British, or so they thought, who had first introduced concentration camps into the modern world. We were their descendants; they were the descendants of the people who had been in the camps.

It was a lesson that the hatred engendered in war could not easily be got rid of, nor in a short space of time.

Speaking of the Africans' attitude towards the Africans and coloured races, Muriel Lester stressed the point that they had far greater power over them than had the British.

If you quoted to an African the Gospel passage which said we are "all of one blood" he would reply, "But look at the next verse. Did it not also say that 'the Lord hath appointed to each his habitation'?"

For theirs is that older Judaic form of Christianity which believes in the superiority of race: the natives are naturally their

servants. Apartheid is based not simply on the commercial demand for cheap labour; it is a part of their very faith; and as such, it is difficult to combat.

The inescapable signs of this new oppression of the natives were most humiliating. There are notices everywhere — "Europeans only," etc., which were directed not only against the Africans but also against all the coloured peoples.

In Natal she stayed with an Indian lady—a doctor. When driving with this friend in a car, people stared indignantly: she was "letting down the British."

It took her a long time to get used to the fact that she was legally forbidden to sit in tea shops or go to cinemas with this cultured Indian friend.

She was even more horrified to learn that when this lady was in hospital her European friends were not allowed to visit her; even when her condition was pronounced grave they were told to wait until they received information that there was no hope.

It was not to be expected that such treatment would not have its effect on the natives. They were being driven into a sullenness quite foreign to their nature.

Normally happy, sociable and loving, they in their turn were now adopting the "don't touch me" attitude of the white people, and to assume the same mark of aloofness towards other races.

But she saw one hopeful sign: the surprising number of fine people who had gone there to throw in their lot with the Africans and Indians — missionaries, social workers and others, who ignored those who snubbed them and were determined to identify themselves with other races as equal in the sight of God.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### We'll see the light

Speaking in detail of our next war, Brig. Prior-Palmer hoped that blackout would not again be enforced. The Brigadier was of the opinion that blackout harms morale and next time the lights should be allowed to blaze.

### Nursery ban

During Scottish Education debate: Emrys Hughes: May I ask if (Mr. McNeill) will be prepared to remove the ban on building nursery schools?

### A-BOMBS & HOW TO TAME THEM

(Continued from page one)

quired to rid this country of its population. Some scientists have estimated that half-a-dozen of the most up-to-date models would do the trick.

### We'd like it if we knew it

Mr. de Frietas was optimistic. He admitted that the people seemed to have submitted to "a feeling of helplessness," but he was sure that was due to ignorance. If the people had all the evidence, he said, they wouldn't feel so hopeless.

"That's why we published the pamphlet," he said, "to give the public the true facts. We have reached a stage when ignorance of the nature of a national danger is even more dangerous than the danger itself."

From which one gathers that an atomic bomb improves on acquaintance.

Other speakers echoed this belief that once we knew what an atom bomb could really do we shouldn't be so frightened, and clearly looked forward to the publication of the Civil Defence Manual to take a load off the nation's mind.

As I understand this comforting publication is being expertly analysed on another page, I will leave my readers to seek their own relief from it.

### Who'd have thought it?

Commander Noble was perhaps the most reassuring when he emphasised that the atom bomb is "strictly limited in its effects."

And as an example of its limitations, he said that "the danger decreases as one is further away."

Anyone who's afraid of war after that must be exceptionally nervous. Most of the debate was concerned with organisation, volunteers, price of shelters and other non-atomic matters; and we heard a good bit about the wickedness of Communism.

### Scottish frivolity

At least one speaker did protest that we shouldn't base our knowledge entirely on the Hiroshima bomb, as bombs were now being made a thousand times more deadly; and one or two protested that it was silly to decry the danger. But those ideas didn't really catch on.

Emrys Hughes' suggestion that the only sensible thing to do was to keep out of war obviously shocked the House by its irrelevance.

It stung Mr. Ede into the retort that "We are the most pacific of all nations on earth, but we cannot tolerate the world being run by force."

But as the whole debate made it quite clear that once force really gets going nothing in the world can stop it, perhaps Hughes' idea will crop up again.

Mr. McNeil: No. I dislike the use of the word ban.

Emrys Hughes: May I point out that the word is used in (Mr. McNeil's) own report?

### Our Allies

Marshall Pibul, dictator of Siam, has officially offered the United Nations some 4,000 troops. This, the second offer of ground troops received at Lake Success, is the latest move by Pibul, who is ruling by military strength in Siam.

Pibul was with the Japanese during World War II and declared war on the Allies in 1942.

### £600,000,000

Commander A. H. P. Noble claimed in the House of Commons that he had seen estimates of around five to six hundred million pounds for the erection of shelters. He had previously asked if the Government had an atom bomb shelter plan.

### Colonising

The US State Department has announced its intention of invading the Pescadore Islands to the south-west of Formosa. These islands would be "defended" if the US thinks that the Chinese People's Army is about to land.

### We are not alone

Quoting from the House of Commons debate on the UK — Soviet meetings over Korea: "... the actual situation which was that forces representing 53 United Nations were being attacked in South Korea." Sir David Kelly in Moscow.

### Suggestion to Cripps

The largest profit ever made by the South African farmers—some 210 million pounds—will come in this year. This compares to an average £70,000,000 before the war.

In South Africa it is legal to use large numbers of slaves: prisoners force-laboured out by the Malan Government.

### Not for Caesar

The US Army reports that almost 25 per cent.—one in every four—of New York men called in the new draft in the first nine days since recruiting resumed had failed to report.

### The scare

The death penalty for spies has been re-introduced in the United States.

### In North Korea

Alan Winnington, ace Fleet Street correspondent, is the only British reporter in Pyongyang, capital of the North Koreans. Winnington, sent by the Daily Worker, will be the only Western representative with the People's Army in Korea. His legal position—North Korea is officially an enemy—is still under Foreign Office discussion.

### Who suffers?

A Malayan Government statement reports that 965 civilians have been killed and 570 wounded since June, 1948.

This total is higher than the combined casualty total of soldiers, airmen and police.

### Cheaper for them

Senator Tydings, Chairman of the US Armed Forces Committee, said last week that "America must constantly prod" Western Europe to speed rearmament.

"The money spent there to make them stronger," he said, "will be cheaper for us in the long run, in both life and treasure."

Sybil Morrison's

## CAMPAIGN COLUMN

"The morning of August 6th was beautiful. There was an air-raid warning but it had stopped... I heard an unusual sound from an aeroplane. I felt something pressing on me... the house collapsed... When I was conscious again I slowly crawled out... I was about a mile from the place over which the bomb had burst, but everywhere I looked the city was a wilderness... I saw, as far as my eyes could see, nothing but people dead and unconscious. The fierce heat had burned them... you could not tell whether they were men or women. At that one time 90,000 people died. Later 120,000 of the survivors died. In all, 210,000 were killed."

—Katsuji Nakajima: "I Was in Hiroshima."—The Star, July 21st, 1950

IT is not surprising that the idea of petitioning the Government to call a conference for banning the use of atomic weapons has caught at the imagination of terrified people all over the world. They want desperately to believe that if this could be done the world would be saved from the appalling disaster that overtook Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

It seems to be forgotten that long before the atom bomb was used, the International Conventions which banned the bombing of "open towns" had already been overthrown on the grounds of expediency.

"Obliteration" bombing instead of so-called "precision" bombing, which purported to attack only military objectives, was used by the British and Americans, regardless of the Geneva agreements, for the purpose not only of killing the enemy, but in order to terrify them into submission.

The atom bomb was an extension of "obliteration bombing," appallingly more destructive and cruel in its results, but this too, was justified, as was the "terror" bombing, on the grounds that it saved British and American lives by shortening the war.

The fact that it was used, and that it was held to be a necessary expedient to secure victory, makes nonsense of the argument that gas was not used because it was prohibited by International Law. The nation which could dare to use the atom bomb, of which the whole world is now so afraid, because of its horrible, disintegrating, agonising and lasting effects upon the human body, would scarcely be deterred from using gas by respect for International Law, or considerations of humanity.

If the use of the atom bomb is criminal, that crime has already been committed, and it is the consequences of that crime which so horrifies and frightens the world today. We know now, that the war was not brought to an end by its use; it still goes on, and the action undertaken to save the lives of certain human beings at the expense of other human beings, far from saving life, has brought the whole human race within reach of its own extermination.

Yet, in all that we read and hear, there is not one word of repentance for the crime; there is much talk of blame and where it lies, but no acceptance of blame, either from the East or from the West.

The truth is that, terrifying though it is as a weapon, the atom bomb is irrelevant to peace; it is only relevant to war. If the threat of it, by some miracle, could be removed tomorrow, the world would still be menaced by war, with all its cruelty and violence, its immoral expediences and its futility. There is only one way to ensure that there shall be no more Hiroshimas, and that is to renounce war itself.

This is the pacifist answer to the conflicts ideological and actual, which are raging in the world today. Pacifism is not a guarantee of personal safety, nor an easy and simple way to peace; it is a revolutionary idea based on the belief that to achieve good it is necessary to discard evil means, whatever the immediate consequences. This is the message which will be heard in Trafalgar Square on Sunday afternoon, August 6th, 1950.

## PRINTING

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## CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

F.A.U. INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

STEEL, PETERSFIELD, HANTS.

THE next training camp for probationary members will begin on August 8th, 1950. Pacifists wishing to join the Service should apply immediately to the above address.